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SUBJECT. ECONOMIST FOREIGN REPORT ON SECRETARY'S MEMORANDUM

1. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF ECONOMIST'S APRIL 7 FOREIGN REPORT STORY ENTITLED "THE KISSINGER MEMORANDUM".

"FOREIGN REPORT CAN DISCLOSE TNAT ALEXANDER SOLZHENITSYN IS PLANNING TO SPEND THE MONTHS OF MAY, JUNE AND JULY IN AMERICA. HIS FIRST PUBLIC APPEARANCE WILL PROBABLY BE TO COLLECT AN HONORARY DEGREE AT HARTFORD UNIVERSITY. A NEW SERIES OF WARNINGS FROM SOLZHENITSYN ON THE PERILS OF "CALCULATED PRAGMATISM" IN DEALING WITH RUSSIA WILL ADD TO THE ALREADY INTENSE FOREIGN POLICY DEBATE THAT IS RAGING IN WASHINGTON. AND CAN BE EXPECTEO TO ASSIST THE TWO PRINCIPAL CRITICS OF DETENTE DIPLOMACY WHO ARE FIGHTING FOR THEIR PARTIES' PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATIONS, SENATOR HENRY ("SCOOP") JACKSON AND RONALD REAGAN - ALTHOUGH SOLZHENITSYN WILL AVOID ANY DIRECT COMMENT ON THE PRESIDENTIAL CONTEST.

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PRESIDENT FORD HAS CAUSE TO BE CONCERNED BY THIS PROSPECT. SO HAS THE MAN WHO ADVISED HIM TO MAKE THE POLITICAL BLUNDER OF DECLINING TO RECEIVE SOLZHENITSYR AT THE WHITE HOUSE LAST YEAR AND WHO IS THE CHIEF

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REPRESENTATIVE, IN THE EYES OF HIS ADMIRERS AS WELL AS HIS DETRACTORS, OF ITS POLICY OF "CALCULATED PRAGMATISM": HENRY KISSINGER.

THE CURRENT EXAMINATION OF MR. KISSINGER'S POLICY SEEMS LIKELY TO BE PURSUED WITH GREAT THOROUGHNESS. LAST WEEK, FOREIGN REPORT PUBLISHED KEY CHUNKS OF THE CONFIDENTIAL SUMMARY OF HELMUT SONNENFELDT'S COUNSELLOR AT THE STATE DEPARTMENT) VIEWS ON FOREIGN POLICY. AS EXPRESSED TO AMERICAN AMBASSADORS IN LONDON LAST DECEMBER. ONE ESSENTIAL POINT ABOUT THIS MEMORANDUM NEEDS TO BE STRESSED. ALTHOUGH A SUMMARY OF SONNENFELDT'S VIEWS, IT WAS ISSUED OVER KISSINGER'S SIGNATURE, WITH AN INTRO-DUCTORY PARAGRAPH (APPARENTLY BY KISSINGER) STATING THAT THE SUMMARY WAS INTENDED FOR THE "BACKGROUND GUIDANCE" OF AMERICAN DIPLOMATS AND OFFICIALS WHO WERE ON THE LIMITED CIRCULATION LIST. THIS DIMINISHED THE IMPACT OF MR. KISSINGER'S RECENT EFFORTS TO DISSOCIATE HIMSELF FROM VIEWS THAT HAD BEEN QUOTED FROM THE TEXT. HIS SIGNATURE IS ON IT. AND PRESUMABLY NOT BY A BUREAUCRATIC OVERSIGHT.

THIS LEAVES THE QUESTION OF WHETHER MR. SONNENFELDT ACTUALLY MEANT SOME OF THE THINGS ATTRIBUTED TO HIM IN THE OFFICIAL SUMMARY. TWO FURTHER PASSAGES FROM THAT SUMMARY CAN NOW BE QUOTED BY FOREIGN REPORT; THEY ARE BOTH CONTROVERSIAL' AND MR. KISSINGER IS NOW SAYING THEY ARE BOTH THE RESULT OF SLOPPY STATE DEPARTMENT DRAFTING. THEY READ AS FOLLOWS:

ON AN "ORGANIC BASE" FOR RUSSIA IN EASTERN EUROPE. "WE SEEK TO INFLUENCE THE EMERGENCE OF THE SOVIET IMPERIAL POWER BY MAKING THE BASE MORE NATURAL AND ORGANIC SO THAT IT WILL NOT REMAIN FOUNDED IN SHEER POWER ALONE. BUT THERE IS NO ALTERNATIVE OPEN TO US OTHER THAN THAT OF INFLUENCING THE WAY SOVIET POWER IS USED." MR. KISSINGER MADE SOME PLAY WITH THE FACT THAT THE UNCLASSIFIED

SONNENFELDT CABLE DOES NOT CONTAIN THE PHRASE "ORGANIC UNION". AS USED IN THE HEADLINE OF AN ARTICLE BY THE COLUMNISTS EVANS AND NOVAK. THE VAGUE CONCEPT OF AN "ORGANIC BASE". HOWEVER. APPEARS TO MEAN SOMETHING VERY SIMILAR.

ON JUGOSLAVIA: "OUR BASIC POLICY CONTINUES TO BE THAT WHICH WE HAVE PURSUED SINCE 1948-49. KEEPING JUGOSLAVIA IN A POSITION OF SUBSTANTIAL INDEPENDENCE FROM THE SOVIET UNION. NOW AT THE SAME TIME WE WOULD LIKE THEM TO BE LESS OBNOXIOUS, AND WE SHOULD ALLOW THEM TO GET AWAY WITH VERY LITTLE. WE SHOULDESPECIALLY DISABUSE THEM OF ANY NOTION THAT OUR INTEREST IN THEIR RELATIVE

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INDEPENDENCE IS GREATER THAN THEIR OWN AND, THEREFORE, THEY HAVE A FREE RIDE."

TO THOSE WHO BELIEVE THAT A SOVIET ATTEMPT TO BRING JUGOSLAVIA BACK IN TO THE WARSAW PACT AFTER TITO'S DEATH COULD PROVE TO BE A DECISIVE TEST-POINT FOR THE EAST-WEST BALANCE, THESE WORDS COULD BE INTERPRETED AS EITHER (A) A CAMOUFLAGED DISAVOWAL OF AMERICAN INTEREST IN SUSTAINING JUGOSLAV INDEPENDENCE; OR (B) A RESTATEMENT OF THE OLD COMMITMENT, COLOURED BY THE VIEW THAT THE JUGOSLAVS SHOULD BE MORE GRATEFUL FOR ANY SUPPORT THEY GET. THERE IS A GENUINE AMBIGUITY ABOUT THE TEXTAS IT STANDS. IT IS POSSIBLE THAT WHEN SONNENFELDT EXPRESSED THE WISH THAT THE JUGOSLAV GOVERN-MENT SHOULD BE LESS "OBNOXIOUS", HE WAS REFERRING TO ITS DEALINGS WITH AMERICA, NOT RUSSIA. BUT, IN THE CONTEXT OF HIS EARLIER REMARKS ABOUT THE NEED FOR A MORE "ORGANIC" RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN EASTERN EUROPE AND RUSSIA, IN ORDER TO AVOID DANGEROUS TENSIONS AND POSSIBLY "WORLD WAR III", IT HAS BEEN READ BY THE CRITICS IN THE OPPOSITE WAY . AS ADVICE TO THE JUGOSLAVS NOT TO BE TOO STROPPY TOWARDS RUSSIA.

IN ANY EVENT, THERE ARE RUMOURS IN WASHINGTON THAT MR. KISSINGER IS PREPARING TO SACRIFICE SONNENFELDT TO THE CURRENT. CHORUS OF ANTI-DETENTE CRITICISM AND MR. FORD'S POLITICAL NEED TO CONVINCE MR. REAGAN'S POTENTIAL SUOPORTERS THAT HE IS NOT "SOFT" (REAGAN HAS BEEN RE-
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COVERING SOME OF THE GROUND HE LOST IN THE EARLY PRIMARIES, AND IS EXPECTED TO WIN THE TEXAS PRIMARY ON 1 MARCH AND TO PICK UP 700 OF THE 900 SOUTHERN DELEGATES TO THE REPUBLICAN CONVERTION; HE NEEDS 1.130 ALL TOLD TO WIN. MR. SONNENFELDT IS SAID TO HAVE BEEN TELEPHON-ING FORMER COLLEAGUES IN THE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL AND ASKING THEM TO ACCEPT JOINT - OR SOLE - RESPONSIBIL-ITY FOR DOCUMENTS DATING FROM THE NIXON YEARS THAT ESPOUSE SIMILAR THEORIES ABOUT THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RUSSIA AND THE EAST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES. OLD ALLEGATIONS ABOUT SONNENFELDT LEAKING STATE DOCUMENTS HAVE SURFACED AGAIN, THOUGH FOREIGN REPORT SHOULD MAKE IT FLATLY CLEAR THAT LAST WEEK'S STORY DID NOT COME FROM A LEAK BYHIM, AND THE STATE DEPARTMENT AS A WHOLE HAS BEEN A VERY LEAKY PLACE INDEED IN RECENT YEARS. THERE ARE ALSO ACCUSATIONS OF FAULTY ANALYSIS: FOR EXAMPLE. SONNENFELDT'S ALLEGED REJECTION. BACK IN 1962. OF THE IDEA THAT RUSSIA MIGHT PUT MISSILES IN CUBA. AND HIS DISMISSAL MORE RECENTLY. OF THE POSSIBLE DRAMATIC IMPACT OF THE AMERICAN GRAIN DEAL WITH RUSSIA IN 1972-73. (A RECENT STUDY BY MILES COSTICK SUGGESTS THAT THE COST OF THE DEAL TO THE AMERICAN CONSUMER WAS $3.3 BILLION

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OVER THE FOLLOWING NINE MONTHS.)

BUT THE MAIN TARGET FOR SUCH CHARGES IS NOT MR. SONNENFELDT BUT HIS BOSS, AND MANY PEOPLE IN WASHINGTON BELIEVE THAT MR. KISSINGER HIMSELF MAY RESIGN BEFORE THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION IN NOVEMBER. A KEY POLITICAL FACTOR HERE IS MR. FORD'S DETERMINED EFFORT TO RECRUIT MR. JOHN CONNALLY TO HIS CAMPAIGN BEFORE THE TEXAS PRIMARY. MR. CONNALLY DISPLAYED HIS INTEREST IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS THROUGH HIS ABLE CHAIRMANSHIP OF A CONFERENCE ON ITALY AT GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY LAST WEEK. HE MAKES LITTLE SECRET OF HIS VICE-PRESIDENTIAL AMBITIONS, AND MIGHT CORCEIVABLY BE PERSUADED TO TAKE MR. KISSINGER'S JOB AS A FIRST INSTALLMENT. IF SO. THE HANDOVER COULD EVEN TAKE PLACE THIS MONTH.

A FORMIDABLE PHALANX OF OPPONENTS (INCLUDING JAMES SCHLESINGER, ADMIRAL ZUMWALT. PAUL NITZE. DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN. AND MANY SENIOR FIGURES WITHIN THE UNCLASSIFIED

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DEFENCE ESTABLISHMENT AND THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY) IS NOW ARRAYED AGAINST MR. KISSINGER'S HANDLING OF FOREIGN POLICY. THEIR MAIN FOCUS. AS ALWAYS. IS THE DANGER OF SEEKING A SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP WITH A RUSSIA THAT IS BENT ON STRATEGIC SUPERIORITY. AND THE ALLEGED FAILURE TO DEFEND WESTERN INTERESTS IN OTHER FIELDS FIRMLY ENOUGH - CURRENTLY. FOR EXAMPLE. IN THE NEGOTIATIONS OVER THE PANAMA CANAL, WHICH MR. KISSINGER IS WILLING TO HAND OVER TO PANAMA. ONE OF THEIR MOST TELLING ARGUMENTS IS MR. KISSINGER'S DISINCLINATION TO COMMUNICATE THE FULL EXTENT OF THE SOVIET THREAT. AND THERE HAVE BEEN DETAILED ALLEGATIONS OF AN ATTEMPT BY HIM TO SUPPRESS EVIDENCE OF SYSTEMATIC SOVIET VIOLATIONS OF THE SALT MISSILE AGREE-MENT. AND OF THE STRATEGIC CONSEQUENCES OF ECONOMIC "LINKAGE".

BUT IT IS TO BE HOPED THAT THE STRATEGIC AND CONCEPTUAL ISSUES AT STAKE DO NOT BECOME ENSNARED IN A NEW ROUND OF PERSONAL VENDETTAS OF THE KIND THAT DID SO MUCH TO DAMAGE AMERICA'S PUBLIC LIFE UNDER THE NIXON ADMINISTRA-TION. FURTHER CLUES TO MR. KISSINGER'S WORLD-VIEW WHICN SUGGEST THAT IN SOME AREAS HE IS TOUGHER THAN IN OTHERS, CAN BE GLEANED FROM THE CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM THAT HE SENT TO AMERICAN OFFICIALS AFTER THE LONDON MEETING LAST DECEMBER, AT THE SAME TIME AS THE SONNENFELDT DOCUMENT. FOREIGN REPORT PUBLISHED SOME BRIEF EXTRACTS FROM THE SECRET KISSINGER CABLE ON 10 MARCH; IT IS NOW ABLE, AGAIN EXCLUSIVELY, TO PUBLISH THE BULK OF THAT TEXT. LIKE THE SORNENFELDT DOCUMENT. THE SEVEN-PAGE KISSINGER MEMORANDUM IS PREFACED BY A PARA-GRAPH DESCRIBING IT AS A "RON-VERBATIM SUMMARY" INTENDED

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FOR THE "BACKGROUND GUIDANCE" OF RECIPIENTS. THE MOST REVEALING SECTIONS OF THE TEXT RELATE TO THE "UNACCEPT-ABILITY" OF COMMUNIST PARTIES ENTERING GOVERNMENTS IN WESTERN EUROPE, ALTHOUGH KISSINGER REFRAINS FROM OUT-LINING ANY SPECIFIC COURSES OF ACTION THAT AMERICA MIGHT
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ADOPT TO PREVERT THE ACCESSION OF COMMUNIST PARTIES TO POWER IN SOUTHERN EUROPE. HIS SUGGESTION THAT A COMMUN-IST WESTERN EUROPE WOULD BE A "HEADACHE" FOR RUSSIA AS
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WELL AS AMERICA IS ONLY SUPERFICIALLY BIZARRE.

PART OF HIS ANALYSIS. WITH WHICH HIS HARD-NOSED CRITICS WILL AGREE. IS THAT EVEN IF SUCCESSFUL FORMS OF COMMUNISM IN WESTERN EUROOE PROVE TO BE GENUINELY ANTI-SOVIET, THIS WOULD NOT REDUCE THE DANGERS TO NATO - OR (THOUGH HE DOES NOT SAY SO) THE RISK OF CONTAGION. AFTER ALL. "ANTI-SOVIET" COMMUNISM IS MORE LIKELY TO SPREAD IN DEMOCRATIC SOCIETIES THAN STALINIST ORTHODOXY. A VITAL GLOSS TO MR. KISSINGER'S WARNINGS ON THIS THEME IS THE WIDESPREAD CONFUSION IN THE AMERICAN INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY ON HOW TO HANDLE ITALY. THE DEFEATIST VIEW IS SPREADING THAT AMERICA WILL HAVE TO LIVE WITH AN ALLENDE-STYLE COALITION IN ITALY BECAUSE. AS ONE HIGH OFFICIAL PUT IT. "THERE ARE NO OTHER FACTORS TO PLAY WITH."

2. FOLLOWING THE ABOVE. THE FOREIGN REPORT PUBLISHES A COMPRESSED TEXT, I.E. VERBATIM BUT WITH A FEW FINAL SENTENCES AND ONE PARAGRAPH MISSING, OF STATE 24977 OF FEBRUARY 12. 1976.

3. ARTICLE CONCLUDES WITH FOLLOWING TEXT.

"TAKEN IN TANDEM WITH THE SONNENFELDT DOCUMENT' THE KISSINGER MEMORANDUM MIGHT SEEM TO REPRESENT A STATEMENT OF A "TWO-BLOCK" SYSTEM FOR EUROPE - A NEW EFFORT TO FORMULATE A "HANDS-OFF" POLICY FOR BOTH EAST AND WEST. THE TROUBLE IS (A) THAT RUSSIA IS NOT DISPOSED TO SUPPORT SUCH A POLICY: AND (B) THAT THERE ARE NO GUIDE-LINES ON HOW AMERICA MIGHT ENFORCE A "BREZHNEV DOCTRINE" FOR WESTERN EUROPE."

ARMSTRONG UNQUOTE

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